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be read "So the skin of the Aurora becomes black that showed itself white at her first appearance: or, So the sky, white in the morning, becomes black at evening." The sky indeed becomes dark at evening, but not the skin of the Aurora, by that hour half the circuit of the globe away. A notable astronomer like Dante would never have conceived of the Aurora as waiting until her skin were darkened by the descent of night. This variety of the auroral interpretation appears plainly inadmissible.

Does Dante then mean that the Day, the compass of *mane* and *sera*, is the *bella figlia* of the sun: and are the hues of sunset, born of the mists and exhalations of earth, her darkened skin in comparison with the heavenlier tints of daybreak? Possibly. Yet reading the lines through with the idea of Day in mind, they halt hopelessly. They should run "So grows dark the skin of the *bella figlia*, white in its first aspect" and they actually do run "So grows white skin dark in the first aspect of the *bella figlia*."

Taken simply and as they stand, these words point to some natural object dependent on the sun, whose surface as first seen by us changes to dark from white by reason, as we are led to think, of age. Just such an object is the moon when her surface is lighted in part by reflection from the earth: or when, according to the popular image, the new moon carries the old moon in her arms. We need only assume that the phrase *primo aspetto* refers to observation instead of to astronomy as the first proponents of the lunar theory thought. The passage then accurately and simply describes the earliest guise in which every succeeding moon presents itself.

"So the white skin of the sun's fair daughter turns to dark, in its first aspect."

Against the sunset sky there appears at once a spotless crescent and a full-grown orb, with gray and wrinkled cheeks. The immaculate and brilliant rim we call young: the scarred and wan expanse within it old. There is one heavenly body which is seen each month at once at the bright beginning and the dark ending

of its recurrent life, and which warns us by the contrast in its looks to keep ourselves unspotted from the world.

The periphrastic description of the sun need not count against this interpretation. The line is a beautiful one ending neatly with its rhyme to *nera*: and the sudden change from laconic to flowing structure is characteristic of Dante.

BENJAMIN IVES GILMAN.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

ONELA THE SCYLFING AND ALI THE BOLD

In support of the very ingenious argument recently offered by Miss M. G. Clarke¹ for finding in Yrsa,² mother of Hrolf Kraki, the daughter of Healfdene whose name the scribe left out in l. 62 of the *Beowulf*, one might call attention to a passage in the *Ynglingasaga* which she passes over in silence. Miss Clarke's proposed reconstruction of the personal and dynastic relations of the Scyldings and the Scyldings, hypothetical tho it is, yet fits in so many ways and makes intelligible so much that is obscure or inconsistent in the Scandinavian traditions that it is bound to receive attention at the hands of *Beowulf* students. The relations which she posits (without the arguments,

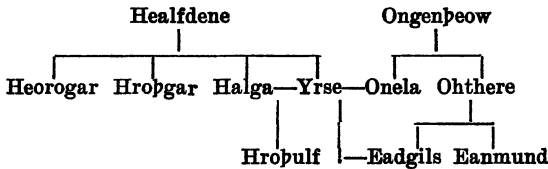
¹ *Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, by M. G. Clarke (Girton College Studies III, Cambridge, 1911), pp. 82 ff. The idea was suggested to her, she says, by Mr. H. M. Chadwick, whose *Origin of the English Nation and Heroic Age* have thrown so much light upon *Beowulf* problems.

² If Dr. Olrik is right in deriving this name from *ursus* (*ursjon*-), and if, like the other names in *Beowulf*, it has followed English morphology, its form in Old English would be *Yrse*. *Beowulf* 62 would then be restored thus:

Hyrde ic þæt Yrse wæs Onelan cwen;
or, to further amend by the change of a single letter Trautmann's doctoring of the line,

& Yrse ec, þe wæs Onelan cwen.

for which I must refer readers to the book itself) are these:



Healfdene, himself the grandson of a king of Sweden on his mother's side (*Skjoldnǫg.*), conquerd the Swedes and became overlord of their relm (reignd twenty-five years at Upsala and died there, *Ynglǫngs.* XXV). To confirm this relation, his daughter Yrse is given in marriage to Onela, heir of the Swedish house—as Hroþgar later gives his daughter Freawaru to the prince of the conquerd Heaðobeardan. Yrse has alreðy, by an incestuous union with Halga, become the mother of Hroþulf, whose origin is thus like that of Fitela and other heroes of saga. After the deth of his father Ongenþeow,³ Onela is at the hed of what might be cald the foren party in Swedish affairs. His

³Kild by Eofor in battle with the Geats, according to *Beow.* 2962–82. But it is very probable that the Geats, occupying a territory between the Swedes and the Danes, were in alliance with or subject to now the one and now the other of their neighbors. If the Danes were their allies or overlords (according as one reads *þyder* or *hyder* in *Beow.* 379) in Hreþel's and Hygelac's time, the fight with Ongenþeow (*Beow.* 2472–90, 2923–99) may be presumed to be the English memory of what appears in later Scandinavian tradition as a dynastic war between Danes and Swedes. We must then suppose in the time of Heardred (several years later) a change of policy which brings the Geats in co-operation with the other party in Sweden and prompts Heardred and after him Beowulf to support the sons of Ohthere against Onela. This, however, was but a temporary, perhaps merely personal, deviation from the traditional policy which ranged the Geats (with the Danes and) against the Swedes. So the messenger that announces Beowulf's deth to his people profesies renewal of strife between Swedes and Geats on account of the old feud with Ongenþeow (ll. 3000–8), despite the fact that Eadgils, whom Beowulf had helpt to the Swedish throne, must be supposed still to be king at Upsala. The poet of the *Beowulf* conceivd the Danes and Geats as friendly, probably as allied, peoples. See further note 6.

brother Ohthere, leader of the nativ or patriotic party, declaring that “the Swedes had never paid scat to the Danes,” heds an insurrection, which ends in his defeat and deth (*Ynglǫngs.* XXVII, the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow. The *Beowulf* says nothing of the deth of Ohthere, tho he is apparently no longer living when his two sons take refuge with Heardred). His sons find an asylum at the court of the Geats (*Beow.* 2380 ff.). One of them, Eadgils, returns and with the help of the Geats defeats and kills his uncle Onela. Then, in order to ensure his hold upon the Swedish throne, he marries his uncle's widow Yrse—as Cnut married Emma, or as Claudius in *Hamlet* married Gertrude. (In all the Scandinavian forms of the story Hrolf's mother Yrse is at some time the wife of Aðils.) Hroþulf, who is now the nearest male representativ of the Danish interest in the Swedish throne, goes to Upsala to claim from Eadgils the tribute due to him as overlord of the Swedes (or perhaps to claim, in his mother Yrse's right, the bride-gift due from a husband to the bride's family, without which a marriage was not legal), and there follows strife between Eadgils and Hroþulf. Hroþulf's visit to Upsala falls in time below that curious “ded line” after which English tradition knows nothing of Danes or Swedes,⁴ and accordingly is nowhere alluded to in *Beowulf*; but it is an important part of the Hrolf story in all the Scandinavian versions (Snorri in the *Ynglǫngs.* merely refers here to the *Skjoldnǫg.*, but he tells the story himself in the Prose Edda, *Skaldskaparmál* XLIV).

This view of the historical relations of the Scyldings and Scyflings who appear in the background of the *Beowulf* story involvs the idea of the Swedish kingdom as a subject state, intermittently for two or three generations, to the Danish royal house, and of two parties, a

⁴Unless indeed with Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 11–18, we see in Wealhþeow's speeches *Beow.* 1181–8, 1220–8, an allusion to strife between Hroþulf (Hrolf) and Hreþric (Roric) after Hroþgar's deth, and in the mention of Heoroweard (Hjorvarð) 2162 evidence that the poet knew a story of Hroþulf's deth at the hands of this elder cousin, cf. *Hrolfss.* XXXI–IV, etc.

foren and a nativ party, among the Swedes themselv. The former is consistently supported by Northern tradition, and the latter seems a natural corollary. That Ali (Onela), in all the Scandinavian traditions in which he appears as an opponent of Aðils, is not a Swedish prince but king of Uppland in Norway, is explained by the fact that there were two Upplands, one in Norway and one in Sweden, the latter being that part of the Swedish kingdom in which Upsala itself, the capital, lay. Icelandic tradition (the story does not appear in Saxo), knowing that Aðils's opponent was king of Uppland, supposed that Uppland must be somewhere else than in Sweden, and therefore identified it with Uppland in Norway.

Now there is in that chapter of the *Ynglinga-saga* which tells how Halfdan became king at Upsala a passage which Miss Clarke does not quote or allude to but which seems strongly to support her theory. I quote from Morris's translation, italicizing the part which Miss Clarke has omitted in her argument:

" . . . in the days when these kings aforesaid [Yngvi, Jorund, Aun] bare rule at Upsala, the kings over the Danes were, first, Dan the Proud, who lived to be exceeding old; then his son Frodi the Proud, or the Peaceful, and then Halfdan and Fridleif, the sons of him, and these were great warriors. Halfdan was the older, and the foremost in all matters; and he went with an army against King Aun of Sweden, and certain battles they had wherein Halfdan ever gained the day; and in the end King Aun fled into West Gautland, whenas he had been king at Upsala for five-and-twenty years; and for twenty-five winters he abode in Gautland, while King Halfdan ruled at Upsala. King Halfdan died in his bed at Upsala, and was laid in mound there. *Thereafter came King Aun yet again to Upsala, and was then sixty years old. Then he made a great sacrifice for length of days, and gave Odin his son, and he was offered up to him. Then gat King Aun answer from Odin that he should live yet another sixty winters: so he reigned on at Upsala for twenty-five winters more. Then came Ali the Bold, the son of Fridleif, with an army to Sweden against King Aun, and battles they had, and King Ali ever had the better part; and again King Aun fled his realm, and went into West Gautland; and Ali was king in Upsala twenty-and-five winters or ever Starkad the Old slew him. After the fall of Ali, King*

Aun went back again to Upsala, and ruled the realm there yet five-and-twenty winters. Then he made yet another great sacrifice for the lengthening of his life, and offered up another of his sons;"

and Odin promist that he should liv on forever if he would sacrifice one of his sons every tenth year. Yet he grew older and feebler, and had to be fed like a babe; and when it came time to sacrifice the tenth son, the Swedes forbade it, and Aun died. The following chapters tell of Egil, Ottar, and Aðils, in successiv generations from Aun, of Aðils's fight with Ali the Upplander of Norway, and of his relations with Yrsa, with Helgi, and with Hrolf Kraki.

This story of Aun is evidently myth, or rather folk-lore; Aun is a Northern Tithonus. Egil also, the "mighty hunter," is probably in part a mythological figure.⁵ Accordingly, we may suppose that originally Ottar was the next in succession to Aun, which would giv us as the earlier basis for this part of the *Ynglingasaga* a series Aun-Ottar-Aðils corresponding to the series Ongenþeow-Ohthere-Eadgils of the *Beowulf*.

But what I wish to point out is this: that in Aun's successiv losses and recoveries of his throne and the renewd leases of life granted to him by Odin, the saga-teller has preservd in a fanciful way a memory of essentially the same dynastic facts that underlie the more nearly authentic stories of Ottar and Aðils, and that appear with yet more of the air of history in the Ongenþeow-Onela + Ohthere-Eadgils series of the *Beowulf*, considerd in the light of Miss Clarke's hypothesis. Insted of Aun-Ottar-Aðils we hav successiv appearances of Aun upon the throne at Upsala with intervals of Danish rule, during which the Swedish king is

⁵ Cf. Egil the Archer, brother of Velent (Weland), in the *Þiðrekssaga*. Snorri's (that is, presumably, Þjóðolf's) account of Egil's strife with Tunni the thrall, his flight to Denmark, his return with a Danish host lent him on condition of his paying tribute, and the friendship between him and Froði after the defeat of Tunni, seems to be merely another version of the story of Swedish faction leading to Danish domination (Tunni—the nativ, Egil—the pro-Danish party). Aun, it may be noted, is a good Northern illustration of the divine king *θεῖος βασις*—cf. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*,² 156, note.

in retreat in Gautland—the land of Heardred and of Beowulf.⁶

⁶The parallel of course is far from being perfect: Ongenþeow fell in fight against the Geats, whereas Aun finds an asylum in Gautland. But the political relations of Swedes and Geats are very much mixed—perhaps it would be better to say shifting—in *Beowulf*. Beowulf supports Eadgils; but Eadgils's brother and fellow-refugee at Heardred's court, Eanmund, is slain by Weohstan the Wægmunding, a retainer apparently (*Beow.* 2607–8) and a kinsman certainly (*Beow.* 2813) of Beowulf; and the fact that Onela rewarded Weohstan for the deed (*Beow.* 2616) indicates that Weohstan was in the servus, at that time, of the rival branch of the Scyldings.

A possible explanation of the position of Weohstan, Wiglaf, and Wulfgar in the *Beowulf* is afforded by Stjerna's modification (*Essays on Beowulf*, transl. by Clark Hall, 1912, pp. 50–62) of Bugge's theory that the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow in the *Ynglingasaga* is a memory of the same event that is described in *Beow.* 2473–90, 2923–99 (the deth of Ongenþeow). Stjerna believed the fight to have taken place really not in Jutland (Vendsyssel) as Snorri has it, but at Vendel in Sweden (north of Upsala, at the original head of navigation on the Fyris). Archeological evidence points to the Swedish Vendel as an important station on a prehistoric trade route, and the great tumulus near by, known since the seventeenth century as King Ottar's mound, shows that it was a royal seat (cf. *Beow.* 2950–58). If we may suppose the Wendlas to have been a family or tribe of the Swedes once independent, with their seat at Vendel, but afterwards subordinated, by intermarriage or conquest, to another family whose names had vocalic alliteration and whose seat was at Upsala, and if we may further suppose the Danish conquests to have been coincident with the transition from the Vendel to the Upsala house—i. e., to have occurred while Vendel was still a royal stronghold—we shall have an explanation not only of the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow but also of the parts played by Wulfgar, Weohstan, and Wiglaf in the *Beowulf*. (The alliteration, noted by Stjerna l. c. 56, of Ongenþeow, &c., with Upsala, of Healfdene, &c., with Heorot and with Hleiðra, of Wulfgar, &c., with Vendel, can hardly be merely accidental.) The Wendlas, we may then suppose, were of the Danish or foren faction: Wulfgar *Wendla leod* is a high official at the Danish court (*Hroþgares ar ond ombiht*, 335–6); Weohstan kills Eanmund in the interest of Onela (2612–20), Hroþgar's brother-in-law; and Weohstan's son Wiglaf, altho he holds his fief from Beowulf (2608–9), is still *leod Scyldinga* to the poet. In a great rally of the southern peoples (Geats in *Beowulf*, Danes in *Ynglings*.) against the oncoming power of the Swedes (Ongenþeow in *Beowulf*, Ottar

And more particularly: we have in Ali the Bold, son of Friðleif, who attacks Aun during his second tenure of the kingdom and drives him again to seek refuge in Gautland, as Onela drove the sons of Ohthere to seek refuge with Heardred, a figure considerably nearer to the requirements of Miss Clarke's hypothesis than is afforded by Ali the Upplander of Norway. Her hypothesis equates Onela, the uncle and rival of Eadgils, with the son-in-law of Healfdene; Ali of Norway is quite unconnected with either the Danish or the Swedish house. But this Ali the Bold, son of Friðleif, is closely connected with Halfdan, being his brother's son, as Onela, by the hypothesis, is his daughter's

in *Ynglings*.) the Swedish king is kild (by two Danish earls in Vendel in Jutland, according to *Ynglings*.; according to *Beowulf* in his stronghold (the Swedish Vendel?) by Eofor and his brother Wulf Wonreding, whose name suggests that he is not a Geat, but a warrior of the Wendlas fighting under Hygelac against the traditional foes of his own family). This exploit is the cause of mingled satisfaction and apprehension in *Beowulf*, and in Danish tradition was remembered as the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow.

So far there is nothing in the *Beowulf* that cannot be explained on the supposition that historically the Geats were at this time subordinate to or in alliance with the Danes. And the same may be said of Saxo (Holder, p. 56) and of the *Hrólfsaga*, if we take Bjarki to be a diffraction of Beowulf. The only serious difficulty lies in the fact that Beowulf supports Eadgils against Onela, i. e., acts on one occasion with the native and against the Danish faction in Sweden. This is not a peculiarity of English tradition; in the *Skjoldungasaga* and in the Prose Edda (*Skaldskaparmál* XLIV), Hrolf himself sends his champions, Bjarki among them, to help Aðils against Ali of Norway. The explanation would seem to be that during Heardred's brief reign the policy of the Geats shifted temporarily, for some reason unknown, to the other side, and that when Onela had slain Heardred for harboring his nephews, Beowulf avenged the deth of his king by helping Eadgils to overthrow Onela. Aun's retreat to Gautland, and perhaps Hrolf's sending of his champions to help Aðils against Ali, would then be interpreted as distorted memories of this fact. At all events it is clear from *Beow.* 3000–8 that the Swedes are still the dreaded foes of the Geats.

Is not the *hwate Scildingas* of 3006 merely the poet's (or the scribe's) momentary and careless, but very intelligible, confusion of the two peoples celebrated in the poem?

husband. He is thus quite appropriately the representativ of the Danish claim to the overlordship of Sweden in this first and more fanciful of Snorri's (or Þjóðolf's) versions of the strife between the two kingdoms; and he seems to afford a bridge from Onela the Scyfling, son-in-law of Healfdene, to Ali of Norway,⁷ who is neither Swede nor Dane.⁸

H. M. BELDEN.

University of Missouri.

A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic. By GEIR T. ZOËGA. Oxford, Clarendon Press. \$3.40. (551 p.)

For some time, a fairly complete and reliable dictionary of Old Icelandic at a moderate price has been a desideratum for beginners or others who could not afford the expensive works of Cleasby-Vigfusson or Fritzner. The present lexicon fulfills the first of these requirements exceedingly well, on the whole; the price, however, is at least one-third too high for the purse of those students for whom the book is primarily intended.

As the preface states, "it is in the main founded on the Oxford Dictionary (Cleasby-Vigfusson) and has been compiled on the general principle of including all those words which the ordinary student of Icelandic is

likely to meet in the course of his reading. With the exception of the Edda poems, the purely poetic vocabulary has been omitted"—and, I think, wisely.

The fact that the abridgment is based on Cl. V. insures the distinct advantage of a pithy and strong English rendering—as against Fritzner's minutely painstaking, but long-winded, definitions. The words "in the main" in the acknowledgment might well be stricken, since if anything not in the larger work has been added it is certainly most inconspicuous. Column follows column with practically the same arrangement of vocables, excepting when, generally for well-considered reasons, words are omitted. Against this arrangement, however, strictures must be made in various respects. It is regrettable that Zoëga has seen fit to adhere to the practice of the older work in separating long and short vowels. That practically useless and time-robbing arrangement has been abandoned by all lexicographers in favor of the strictly alphabetic order. As it is, the philologically untrained will have troubles in plenty with the complicated O. N. phonology; but who, even among adepts, will be sure whether to look up *illr* or *íllr*, *stigr* or *stígr*, *ogn* or *ógn*, prefixal *or-*, *ur-* or *ór-*, *úr-*, etc., etc.? Things are not improved by rather slavishly following Cl. V.'s non-adherence to this principle in the case of *e*, *é* and having *fe- fé*, *le- lé*, *me- mé* come indiscriminately.

We learn that "the vowel *ø* has also been distinguished from *ö* (*ø*), but without separation of the words containing them." But why, seeing they represent entirely different sounds? Thus we see *stö-* (*stø-*), *stø-* and *gö-* (*gø-*), *gø-*, etc., cheerfully keeping company (as in the older work which did not differentiate the sounds), whereas long *ø* (*œ*) is carefully segregated from its short brother!

In accordance with the entirely reasonable program above quoted, I have tested the lexicon by the following monuments: *Njála* (chaps. 100–125), *Laxdæla*; *Færeyingasaga*, *Heimskringla* (*Ólafss. Tryggv.*); *Stjórn* (at random); *Völsungas.*, *Egilss. einh.*; *Snorra Edda* (prose); *Hýmiskviða*, *Helreið Brynhildar* and found it adequate and accurate, with minor

⁷ The connection seems clearly to have been made in the *Skjoldings.*, where, according to Arngrim's abstract, the grandfather of Alo (Ali) is also named Alo, and is king of Uppland in Norway (Clarke, *o. c.* 77).

⁸ In the *Ynglings.* Ali (Saxo's Olo nephew of Harald War-Tooth, as Mr. Chadwick points out, *Orig. Engl. Nat.*, p. 147) is slain by Starkað, the Hercules of Northern legend; in the *Beow.* Onela is kild by Eadgils in an expedition for which Beowulf provided the men and the weapons. It is quite possible—tho the weight of opinion is against it—to refer *he* of l. 2396 to Beowulf instead of Eadgils, which would make Beowulf the slayer of Onela in revenge for the death of his king Heardred. Beowulf, a mighty man of his hands, would then stand to Onela as Starkað to Ali.